1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

lower level of civilization than the Aryans and were so degraded as to be called *dasas*. The mention of the *dasas* being wealthy in cattle and goods, as being good fighters and living in forts was discounted as an exaggeration. Their inferiority was tacitly taken for granted and Marshall comments: "Never for a moment was it imagined that five thousand years ago, before even the Aryans were heard of, the Punjab and Sind, if not other parts of India as well, were enjoying an advanced and singularly uniform civilization of their own, closely akin, but in some respects even superior to that of contemporary Mesopotamia and Egypt."[1] Marshall goes on to sketch the main outlines of their culture and shows that it was "not an incipient civilization, but one already age-old and stereotyped on Indian soil, with many millennia of human endeavour behind it."[2]

Whether the Rigvedic descriptions represent the clash of the "Aryans" and the Indus valley peoples is an open question and waits for further light. Whomsoever they met, as they moved over the plains of northern India, gave them much opposition and it took a long time to overcome and definitely subjugate them. And whether this relatively advanced type of culture succumbed so low before the "Aryans," that its peoples became their servants and slaves is also problematical. Possibly the groups which have become the lower castes in northern India and Bengal belong to an ethnological stream other than that represented by the Mohenjo-daro peoples, and were really a primitive jungle people occupying the highlands of Central India and finding support in the more menial tasks which accompany a higher culture. Those that preferred the jungle ways have as a whole maintained their identity in their forest isolation. More than once they had to retreat before the encroaching "Aryans," and by a series of migrations, now dimly enshrined in their traditions, reached the central parts of India where they now reside.

PARTICULAR: BELIEFS OF THE KOLS IN CENTRAL INDIA. Kols questioned by us in our investigations do not seem to have many definite myths of the place or time of their origin. Those who live in Jubbulpore district almost without exception say that Rewa is their native land, their *desh*, the place of their origin. In Rewa itself two informants, in giving us stories of the origin of the Kols, said that the place of origin was Sheori Narayan, a town in the eastern part of Central Provinces, near the city of Raipur. Another town to the east mentioned by a Rewa Kol is called Pharenda, which, he said, was five or

1 Marshall, John, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, p. v.
2 *Ibid.*, p. v.

li:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

[P. 11]

Chapter II

THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE KOLS

There is considerable variation in the material culture of the Kols. This is due to the economic changes which rapidly occur when these primitive people come into contact with cities and their industrial order. The Kols make excellent workers, and in many of the industrial centres of Central India the majority of the cheap labour is supplied by them. This group, however, is not typical of the Kols; and the following description of their material culture is based upon the village Kol, who, while having considerable contact with modern influences, still clings mostly to the older ways known to his people for centuries.

The Village. While this study is particularly of the Kols who are in contact with Hindu culture, nevertheless a few words should be written about the more primitive Kols who live in villages tucked away in some rather inaccessible spot. Such villages are usually not found among the trees of the forest, but in an open space. The form which the village takes depends on the terrain and also upon the general custom of the area. The Gonds generally build their houses in separate enclosures, each an individual unit. We have found a few Kol villages of this type. Sometimes there have been two or three houses within a thorny stockade.

It is more usual, however, to find the Kols grouped together as a single unit. The form of the primitive village varies, but the shoe-string type predominates. The village has but the one central pathway which winds between small courts plastered with mud and cow dung situated immediately in front of the house. The court is usually clean, the pathway seldom so.

Primitive villages do not show many signs of permanency. The huts are of a type that can be destroyed over night if it should seem wise to shift the village. In actual practice, however, the Kol does not make a move quickly. Most of these villages though very temporary in their make-up have nevertheless been in existence for years.

The cattle sheds, where they exist, form a part of the hut and may only be distinguished from human habitations by the fact that they are more open. The Kols do not keep pigs, nor do they have gardens about their huts. Sometimes a form of pumpkin may be allowed to grow by the wall and climb over the roof. A *nim* tree (*Melia azadirachta*) will usually be found on the central pathway and under it a raised platform of mud where most of the village worship is observed. There are, generally speaking, no well defined village

1;Griffiths M-5. (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

361 boundaries. Such boundaries exist in theory, but are not always
[196] marked out. The religious ceremonies which are supposed to take them into account just go round the outskirts of the village, paying no particular attention to supposed boundary points.

363 The ordinary Kol village is not a pretentious affair. There will be one or two central paths, three to ten feet wide and up to 200 yards long, which are the main streets and which the houses face. If the terrain permits, these paths usually run in a northerly-southerly
[364] direction and are often winding. Between the houses there are little lanes through which one may squeeze to get to the back of the village
[342] where the trash is thrown. The houses are made of *chatai* walls plastered with mud, or possibly of thick mud walls. The roof is usually of grass, but cheap country tiles are frequently employed. A two-storied house is unknown except in the larger towns where brick is used and some wealthy person resides. There is no street in the ordinary sense of the word and the lanes which provide the outlets for the
361 various houses are narrow, dirty and tortuous. The individual group may have two small buildings, one of which houses the cattle, though
[343] it is not unusual to find the cattle kept on the veranda. It is from
231 such a village that the labourers go out to their fields which not in-
[241] frequently lie from two to three miles distant from the village. On the edge of most villages are seen a few meaner huts grouped together
621 and in these one usually finds the depressed and the untouchables.
564 The fact is at once known by the pigs which are all about such houses.
735 Where Kols do not have their own village and are attached to some larger village or hamlet the two groups usually live on the edge; but the Kol, generally speaking, is more cleanly than the lower groups whose houses occasionally adjoin his dwelling place. When questioned why they live apart the answer has usually taken a three-fold form:
[262] It is claimed first that Hindus do not like to have Kols living near them because they (the Kols) eat meat and especially pork, which is consumed at the time of sacrifice. The next reason is an economic one: Kols are too poor to rent lands or pay the house rent required in the
[427] villages. One rupee a year is the maximum paid outside the village and sometimes nothing is required save a bit of help to the *malgusar* or landlord when he needs labourers in his fields. Kols also claim that if they live in close proximity to the higher castes they would not be free to sing and play the drum the whole night through, a thing which they consider necessary at certain times of worship.

●184. LIVING CONDITIONS. There is a good deal of variation in the
342 conditions under which the Kols live. In places where tenancy is
351

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

assured, they build houses which may favourably be compared even with those of the poorer Brahmins. Such well-built houses are of mud walls about two feet thick, a tiled roof laid out on bamboo poles and a fairly large courtyard. We found the houses and courtyards in Barela scrupulously clean. Refuse, however, was thrown into the manure pits right alongside the houses. In Kharara Ghat the houses were not of the same standard of cleanliness as in Barela. There seemed to be no particular direction which the houses must face. Enquiries revealed that there was no particular objection to having the door face toward the south. To some Hindus this is the direction of the dwelling place of the God of Death, *Yama*, and there should be no door that way. Most houses seemed to have no central courtyard, such as is common in Santali villages. If two houses face each other, both houses have a courtyard and there is a common pathway between. The mud walls, inside and outside, the floors and the courtyard are plastered with a mixture of cow dung and clay. There is generally but one room in the average house, and it is littered up with many things. There is found somewhere a large sun-dried mud urn, large enough for a man to get into, and in this is stored the grain so that it may not be destroyed by rats and moisture.[1] There are baskets and tools in the corners; on bamboo poles stretched just across the top of the mud walls, not much higher than the head, hang clothes, rags and tattered bedding. In one corner, the view of which is generally hidden as one enters the low door, is the cooking department with its stone mill and *chulhas* and a few pots for cooking purposes. There will be a few bottles for oil, and a few tins, usually old tins once thrown away by some city dweller, in which are kept such things as salt and spices used in the preparation of the meal. This is a description of the better type of house. In summer it is dark and cool. There are no windows and all the light comes through the door leading to a small veranda.

On the other hand, there is the meaner type of house. At Barela there were numbers of these alongside of other better houses. The pictures show the differences.[2] These ruder huts have no veranda space, though usually there is an attempt at a small courtyard. The doors are so low that one has to get on his hands and knees to enter. The roof is of grass, and usually this type of house does not furnish much protection from rain. The walls are merely bamboo *tati* or just branches woven together and protected by thorns. This type of house is airy compared to the others, but the door can never be locked. In-

1 See Plate vii.
2 See Plate v.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

184 side are the few poor possessions of the inmates. The clothes are
342 nearly always on their bodies, and one finds only a few rags, some
[422] cooking utensils, and the like. The floor is damp and poorly plastered.
[735] At Kymore we saw a few houses that even a dog would not consider worthy of entering, which sheltered families. One wonders how in the heat and the rain and the cold a human being can live in such places.

A number of the better grade houses have two rooms. These houses have some veranda space, and here are examples of outside measurements of some of the better types:

26′×7′; 35′×18′; 40′×20′; 39′×23′;
12′×16′; 15′×16′; 15′×12′; 10′×15′.

In one of the above houses that had two rooms one measured 10′×5′ and the other 10′×15′ In these better houses the height of the mud wall is six to seven feet above the level of the floor. Some of the meaner huts measured 5′×10′ and 6′×12′, with walls about three
[592] feet high. In one of these measuring 6′×12′ we found five people living, in another of a similar size four. At Kymore the huts were about seven feet long and three feet wide.

See figures 2 and 3 showing diagrams of typical Kol houses.

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GROUND PLANS OF KOL HOUSES

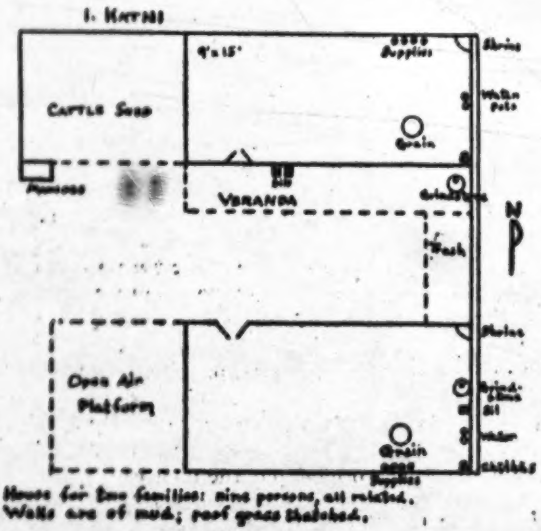

Fig. 2.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE V.

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342

A View of the Kol Mahalla, Jubbulpore.

Primitive Kol Dwellings at Barela. See Fig. 3.

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The Home of an Influential Kol in Barela.

[Facing p. 14]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Those who own cattle usually provide for them in a place separate from their own dwellings. They are occasionally given a place on the veranda, but usually a rude hut is erected to one side of the house where the cattle are housed during the night and afforded some measure of protection. In some of the more jungly sections back in the Kaimur hills, we found that a group of houses usually had a thorny stockade built around it.[1] There was one entrance for all, cattle and men. This is for protection from wild animals and an occasional outlaw. In the industrial sections attached to cities like Jubbulpore the Kols are sometimes put in the regular workers' lines; or are at other times

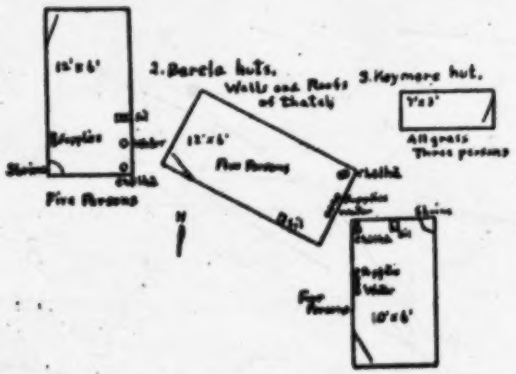

Fig. 3

given a plot of ground and certain materials for building purposes (mostly tiles) and allowed to construct their own village. Some fairly decent houses result, but usually there is no system to the narrow winding paths that lead one amongst the village houses. In Kymore the Cement company is building brick accommodations for their Kol workers. Recently one of the grass huts caught fire while the parents were away at work, and before it could be checked, it had spread to other huts and a number of small children were burned to death.

The problems of sanitation are the same with the Kols as they are all over village India. Filth of all varieties is thrown on the manure pits right alongside the houses, and flies and other insects breed prolifically.

1 See Plate IV,

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE VI.

184
342
351
[343]

Panagar Kol Dwellings. Note Granary left centre.

Primitive type of House at Barela.

Primitive Huts in the Kaimur Hills.

[facing p. 15]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

on the *til* salt and some spices are usually added. The dough is then moulded by hand into cakes of various sizes which are fried in sweet (*til*) oil or in clarified butter. *Bara* is usually eaten in this form though occasionally, if curd is available, it is soaked in that until soft. 252

Dahi is a form of sour milk, though a particular strain of bacteria seems to be required. A bit of old *dahi* is put into the new milk which has been sweetened and to which possibly a little sliced green chili has been added. This is set aside until the *dahi* is formed.

Khir. This is made by boiling rice in milk over a slow fire. Sugar is added to sweeten. When the mixture becomes creamy, chopped cocoanut, pistachio, and *ilachi* seeds are added to taste.

Batasa. Sugar is boiled with water until there is a very thick syrup. This is poured into a cocoanut shell which has a small hole in the bottom through which the syrup may drip. This is allowed to drip on cloth or paper forming small balls of various sizes. The product turns out to be a small whitish ball, spongy and very sweet.

FOOD TABOOS. There are certain things which Kols never eat. The use of beef and carrion is universally tabooed. The latter is eaten only by outcastes, and beef is not taken in deference to their Hindu neighbours. It was noted that pork is among the foods used. In Hinduized centres it is no longer eaten as a regular dish, but it is still partaken of at festival times when a young pig may be offered to the goddess and ceremonially eaten. Nothing that creeps on the ground should be eaten. 262 [564] [178 782]

Among other animals which they never kill nor eat are found the names of the parrot, sparrow, crow, kite and *galgal* (*Acridotheres tristis*).

INTOXICANTS. There is evidence to show that the Kols are not so addicted to the use of intoxicants as they were in previous years. At times of religious ceremonies liquor is still used quite freely and no penalty is attached. In one centre we were informed that the *panchayat* fines any man who is caught drinking liquor, and that they had totally abolished its use in that village. In other places they were not so successful, and yet there was a standard penalty of Rs. 10 or a community feast, when, in the judgment of the *panch* the circumstances warranted it. 273 [184 623 681]

Contact with city life seems to increase the use of liquor; and Kol dwellers in Jubbulpore have distinctly less feeling against it and more often indulge in its use than do the people living in the village. [369]

As far as we could learn there was no record of the Kols resorting to the illicit distillation of intoxicants. When they need liquor for their [443]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

sometimes silver, or again may be of cheaper metals. These are allowed to rub one against the other and make a tinkling sound as they move. There are ten toe-rings, one for each toe. It is not to be thought that these things are all worn continually. A few are always worn, and when some opportunity arises to wear the others, they are put on. 301 [585]

A lac *tika* is stuck on the forehead of young married women. This is put on by the husband in order that all may see that she is married and also to protect both of them.

TATTOOING. Every woman should have tattoo marks (*godna*) upon her body. Men are not tattooed. The time for this varies. Among more Hinduized sections it is said that it should be done at puberty, that is, at the ages of ten to twelve. Again, and it seems to be the more common custom among the Kols, the *godna* is done shortly before the marriage. In certain cases which we came across, it was said to have been done after marriage. Kols do not do the tattooing themselves, but it is done by the regular tattooer called *bajigar* or *godnari*. 304 [184]

On the accompanying text figures tattoo designs copied from Kol women are shown. There is generally a purpose for each position. Design 1 is placed on various parts of the body. It is found over the right kidney region to take away pain. It is also put on the breasts to ensure a good supply of milk. On the palms of the hands it is believed to help in making *chapatis* light and palatable; on the arms it is supposed to benefit the husband, while on the face it is purely decorative. 304 789 [531]

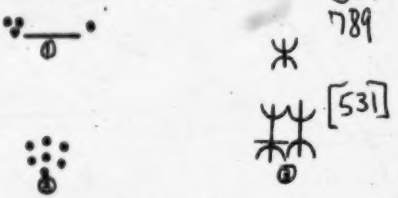

Fig. 12

Design 2 was found inside the left wrist.

Design 3 was on the right leg and takes away pain.

Design 4 was on the outside of the upper left arm. It was mainly decorative, but a protective significance was also suggested. It was said that in this case it took two hours to tattoo the design and that it was a very painful process. (See figure 13.)

Design 5 was found on the same woman on the outside of the left forearm. Another Kol woman had design 6 on the inside of the left forearm. This same woman had design 7 on the outside of the upper left arm. (See figures 14, 15, 16.)

There are certain traditions connected with tattooing. We were once told that when a Kolin is cremated Bhagawan catches the hand which has the *godna* and conducts her to *Baikunthe*. Therefore, it is 304 776 775 789

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

114 564 [614] same as Borowar on our list; Bin and Binj are probably the same, and Harwariya may have become Garhvariya; the ploughman becoming the fortress-dweller.

Russell and Hiralal[1] state that they found the subcastes noted below, but their results appear to be based on materials gathered from the eastern edge of the Central Provinces. It will be noted that there are points of agreement and disagreement between their list and ours: Rautia, Rautele, Thakuriya, Kagwaria, Desaha, Bharia, Savar and Khairwar. They also include as "totemistic septs" the following: Bargaiyan, Kathotia, Katharia, Kumhra and Bhuwar.

[614]

1. *Rautiya.* This designation is believed to be derived from the word Rawat meaning "a prince," and as such may be traced to some ancient landholding or warrior group among the Kols in centuries past. This group claims to be the highest of the Kol *kurhis* and such assertions were usually not disputed by either Thakuriyas or others in joint group discussions; although on one or two occasions it was controverted as recorded under the Thakuriya (*vide p.* 41). Almost without exception the Rautiyas make use of the Brahmin priest at the time of wedding, and of the Hindu *nai* or barber, and the *dhobi* or washerman in certain ceremonies connected with birth and death. Not to do this would be to sin against social conventions; yet in one or two cases we were told that if a Rautiya is too poor to employ a Brahmin he might make other arrangements. This probably means that far back in their history they attended to such matters themselves, but have now become Hinduized and feel unable to act for themselves. Rautiyas made the claim that they move freely among Hindus and are recognized by them in a manner that other Kol *kurhis* are not. While the group is theoretically endogamous, hypergamy is occasionally practised with the Thakuriyas. This is probably a relic from the time when intermarriage was common, but the process of Hinduization has now stabilized the *kurhis*. They admit that if necessary Thakuriya girls may be married to Rautiya boys, but deny that they ever give their girls in marriages to Thakuriyas. If a *swasaha* Rautiya—those whom perform marriage without the help of a Brahmin—has an eligible son they would give their daughter to him in marriage only if it is agreed that the Brahmin priest and the *nai*, will officiate in the regular way.

564 [554] [177] [585] [302] [582] [184] [585]

Rautiyas have a very definite taboo in the case of the horse. Horse manure is absolutely forbidden to be touched. There are several curious stories that came to our attention. One of them is that in the dim ages past Bhagawan gave the Kols the gift of a horse. In a few

[825] [773] [784]

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, Article Kol.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

This led to a separation between the brothers and they formed two divisions of the same family. The elder brother was the head of the family of Rautiya Kols and the younger of the Kurha Kols. 564 773

Another story relates that there were once five brothers of the same *kurhi*. Due to lack of food they were forced to separate; one went to the Binj mountains and founded the Binj *kurhi*; another went to a Thakuriya house, found shelter there, and from him are descended the Thakuriya Kols; another who took refuge with the Kumhars, the potters, was the ancestor of the Kurha sept. It is not unlikely that these stories contain the truth that this *kurhi* may have arisen from some marriage with Kumhars or perhaps miscegenation with them, or it may have reference to some occupational adventure on the part of some Kols.

Apparently the use of an earthen vessel by one sub-group does not prevent marriage within the whole group, nor does it limit it to that group, for marriages are possible between them and the Kathautiya Rautiyas who use wooden vessels from which to eat. There is the restriction, though, that Kurhas and Kathautiyas should not eat together unless they are related by marriage, and when this is the case they may compromise by the use of the ordinary brass plate. In a certain centre we were told that the only "pure Rautiyas" were those who used the *kurha* and that there were also definite marriage restrictions between them and the users of the wooden bowl. This, if ever true, is disappearing. 564 [264]

1c. *Kathautiya*. Evidence goes to show that this *kurhi* is also a sub-group of the Rautiyas and differs from the Kurhas in that its members eat from a wooden bowl, called *kathauta* or *kathota*. The women folk, and occasionally the men, wear bits of wood in the lobes of their ears. During childhood the hole in the lobe is enlarged by the insertion of fibres from weeds, and from time to time a new bit is inserted in the attempt to enlarge the hole. We did not find that the Kathautiya Kols were consistent in the use of the wooden dish. At Sihora they told us that while they were Kathautiyas they had nevertheless given up the use of the *kathauta* and had adopted the ordinary brass plate. In other centres, notably one near Katni, they still use the bowl and cling to the custom tenaciously. As far as possible, they declared, all food should be prepared in wooden vessels, and it is expected that they should eat their food from such vessels. They do not manufacture their own *kathautas*, nor is any particular kind of wood used, but the dishes are made by Hindu carpenters from such wood as is available. At the time of death or eclipse of sun or moon the Kurha Kols must throw out all their earthenware dishes; the [415 264] [304 301] [178] [184] [252] [139] [82] [168 415]

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

564 773 and led him wherever he went. He always had a bow and some arrows with him, as he was also a mighty shooter. As they were still begging they met a Brahmin female beggar who had just been to Gaura, the Ahir village, and had learned of the slaughter of the Kols. When the blind Devasi heard of this he said to his sister: "Sister, why should we live any longer when all our friends are dead? Let us now go to Gaura village and as we approach it tell me carefully where the two Ahir leaders are sitting so that I may shoot them." When they were within a mile of the village she spied them standing before the village and ready to give battle. The two halted and the sister carefully observed all that was going on. At last the two brothers turned their faces toward the blind archer and his sister. She told him that all was ready and handed him two arrows and then set his face toward the brothers. His aim was so exact that he shot the arrows right into the eyes of the two brothers and both fell down dead. Devasi's strength was so great that the bow almost broke when it was bent. The Ahirs were astounded at this mighty feat and wondered who did this. In their estimation Devasi was a mighty Kol and in terror they deserted the village. The blind Kol and his sister then took possession of the village and drove the 360 head of cattle therein back to their own village. They found some children whom they brought along, and when they grew up they intermarried with the Kols and the offspring of this union were called Thakuriyas.

The last part of the story does not seem to fit into the tale as a whole and the Ahir story may refer to some event other than that of the formation of the Thakuriyas. There is a section of the Ahirs called Thakurs and there may be some connection at this point. Russell and Hiralal also cite the belief that the Abhiras, the ancestors in part of the modern Ahirs, came into India from Central Asia about the time of Christ.[1] To-day they are a much mixed race.

564 784 184 It was ascertained that the Thakuriyas do not have the Rautiya taboo against the horse; that they can make mattresses and can even sit on those made by Kathariyas, and that they have no feeling against the use of gold as ornaments. In fact it is believed that a Thakuriya cannot carry out a wedding without the use of gold and that the parents of the bride should at least see some gold about the bridegroom's neck. If the bride can also wear it, so much the better.

564 262 One informant said that Thakuriya men occasionally eat chicken and pork, but that their women-folk never eat them. They do not object to eating with other *kurkis*, and while they cannot take Rautiya girls in marriage, they can marry their daughters to them.

1 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 10.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

possibility of marriage with higher Kol groups. It is not at all unlikely that the name is not the title of a *kurhi*, but rather of a type of Kol who, though he may belong to any *kurhi*, uses the above occasions for making a little extra money. One informant assured us that Kulmangans were really Rautiyas. [564]

10. *Swasaha*. The word probably is a corruption of *swastha*, meaning self-reliant, independent. When the word is applied to Kols the inference is that they do not follow the Hinduised customs of most of their tribe in regard to the calling in of the Brahmin priest, the *nai*, and the *dhobi*. All these matters are cared for by some member of their own community, usually one of the elderly persons. We came across one who claimed to be a Swasaha, but as a group they were never found. Some evidence was found which would indicate that this is not a distinct *kurhi*, but is rather something remaining from earlier times. If any family or group is independent of the *pandit*, *nai* or *dhobi* in weddings and the like, they may be called Swasahas. We found evidence which leads us to believe that there are Swasaha Rautiyas. The lower *kurhis* are probably mostly of the *swasaha* type. Nevertheless most of the Kols believe and claim that this is a distinct *kurhi*. [184] [793] [887]

11. *Bhumiya*. The word literally means 'born from the land' or 'aboriginal.' It is also a title of the Bharias, a Munda tribe residing in large numbers in the Jubbulpore district. At present the Bharias are usually associated with the Gonds and are probably very much intermixed with them as the number of names and sub-divisions would indicate. We were unable to elicit any definite information from the Kols about this *kurhi* save that Bhumiyas may sleep either on beds or on the ground. This same title is also found among the Baigas and the Korkus, and the Gonds have a subdivision of this name. Bhumiya and Bhuiya are synonyms. [171] [513]

In connection with the Kols the name may have arisen as a nickname, or a title given to Kols who held land. Certain tribes and some Hindus are said to employ this term Bhuiya as the equivalent for *Zamindar*.[1] There are thus Bhumiyas by tribe and also by title. Roy has written a book on the Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa.[2] They are also Mundas and in view of this fact it is not strange that some Kols should either bear the title of Bhumiya or belong to the Bhumiya *kurhi*. A Bhuiya subcaste bears the name of Rautadi, which is not far removed from Rautiya.

12. *Murha*. Russell and Hiralal state that this is a caste of [161]

1 *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 306.
2 Roy, S. C., *The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa*, 1935.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Kols generally believe that the soul of the child enters and possesses its new body before the child is born. The more general opinion is that the movements of the child in the womb, which first occur about the sixth month, are the signs that the body has received its soul and is already a person. The soul is a gift to the child by Paramatma, and it enters the child's body through the mouth, nose or ears. The Kols' idea of the state and nature of the soul before entering the child's body is very vague and it is unusual to find any clear idea of transmigration and previous existence in another body.

Delivery. There is no uncleanness attached to the woman up to the time of the birth of her baby, but for six days thereafter she is considered unclean. The actual delivery of the child always occurs at home for no use is made of hospitals or the like.

When the time of birth is near the female relatives who have come for the occasion take charge of her. No male members of the family are allowed in the delivery room and men are kept out for the six days following. In a few places however we learned that they might enter after three days. Her mother-in-law and her sister are the ones to make the arrangements and do the actual work, although other female members of the two families may stand ready to assist. The woman awaits her time in a darkened room protected as far as possible from the entry of evil spirits. A few hours before (and sometimes just at the time) birth is expected a mid-wife—*dai*—is summoned. The Kols usually summon a Chamarin, or if she is not available, a Basorin. Sometimes, particularly around Jubbulpore, the Basorin seems to be preferred. If the birth should occur before the *dai* arrives the women in the house can do everything except the cutting of the umbilical cord. In one place we asked what would happen if the *dai* did not arrive and they replied that before a Kolin would cut the cord they would have to let the mother and baby die! Some Kols are said to do it themselves, but we did not find any who admitted that they do so. If the child should be born in a field the mother gathers up the child and the after-birth in her *sari* and carries it home and then the *dai* is called to cut the cord and care for the infant.

The birth usually occurs with the mother squatted on the floor, seated on her heels and bending over a large basket placed upside down on the floor, her head meanwhile resting on her hands. The female relatives support her and give encouragement. The *dai* is the one to receive the child. No one in the family should touch the child until it has first been purified by the *dai*. This applies to the mother as well. The *dai* cuts the umbilical cord with an iron instrument which

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844 [112] [751] [824] [824] 844 184 844 17

she has brought with her and takes charge of the child. The female relatives may move the mother to another part of the room. The first thing to be done to the baby when it is certain that it has begun to breathe, which is learned by the crying of the infant, is to sprinkle it lightly from head to foot with wood ashes. This, it is claimed, prevents skin trouble, a possible chill, and wards off evil spirits. Ashes are also sprinkled about the floor where the mother squatted. The ashes on the child are then removed with a soft cloth and the baby is bathed in luke-warm water. It is then dried and is usually gently massaged with the sweet *til* oil from *Sesamum indicum*. The child should now be given a smoke bath. There has been a fire burning in the lying-in room and into this is sprinkled some *ajwayan* or dill seed (*Anethum graveolens*), which gives a smoke with a pleasant odour. The child is waved through this several times and the smoke and warmth are said to help in removing the moisture from the body and give it protection from evil. Some old pieces of cloth are now ready and in these the child is wrapped by the *dai* who places it on a *supa* (winnowing fan).

The *dai* now turns her attention to the mother who is probably lying on some dirty rags in the corner. The mother is cleaned by the *dai* and is massaged with sweet oil. Usually *harowar*, sometimes called *sarson* oil (mustard oil from *Brassica juncea*), is mixed in with the *til* oil. The *dai* should also clean up and dispose off all the dirty cloths and the placenta. We found some differences as to the method of the disposal of these things. In most places it appears that they are never taken out of the house lest evil spirits work through them, but that they are buried with clarified butter (*ghi*) in a hole in the earthen floor and a fire kept burning over the spot for six days. Sometimes, though rarely, the placenta and soiled cloths are collected in an earthen vessel (or sometimes placed upon a large-sized earthen tile) and are taken outside the house. These things are usually placed somewhere at the back of the house in a place which may not be visited, or are thrown on the manure pile, or sometimes they are buried there. At other times all is burned in the fire which is alight in the lying-in room and the ashes are later thrown into some stream. Again, it was said that it is all wrapped up in a dirty cloth and thrown into a secluded spot. These customs seem to vary, but the first is the most usual.

Roy in *The Birhors* says that this group buries the after-birth just outside the door—the deeper it is buried the longer is the interval before the birth of the next child. No animal should be able to get at it and eat it, or the mother will sicken and die. In the case of the umbilical

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

585 woman, the smearing of a little *sendur* on her forehead, and the distribution of something to eat.

582 [178 184] **The Age for Marriage.** Because of the influence of Hinduism adult marriage among the Kols is not so much the rule as it is amongst certain more isolated Munda groups. The Kols generally recommend a fairly young age as the best for marriage. They told us that a boy should be married when between the ages of seven and ten and a girl [585] when six or eight. Of course the young folks do not live together as man and wife at these ages; the actual consummation of the marriage occurs at the *gauna* time when the boy is twelve to fifteen and the girl ten to twelve. The practice of early marriage is deeply ingrained in the social thought of India in general for it has been the tradition and India is tenacious in its observances of this tradition handed down from ancient times. The usual reason advanced is that it protects both parties from promiscuous sexual relations. From their own reports the Kols give the impression that early marriages are very common among them, yet an examination of Census Reports does not seem to indicate that Kols are particularly addicted to early marriages. The 171 report for 1931[1] lists eighty castes, tribes and races in the order of the incidence of child marriage. The Kols stand sixty-third on 582 the list with only 3.4% of their married females being under thirteen years of age. At the head of the list are found the Golars, a nomadic shepherd group with 21.9% of their married females being under thirteen. They are a relatively small group. But the Telis, a "clean" Hindu caste of oil makers which has a large number of members in the Central Provinces, report 13.8%. The Brahmins in the same Province have 3.5% and thus the Kols come just below them. From this evidence it would appear that the Kols are not extreme in their practice of early marriage. However, the definition of marriage may be different and may refer to the time of actual consummation and the living together of the couple as man and wife.

583 **Kinds of Marriage.** For the Kols there is but one approved and genuine form though, as we have noted, there are cases where people are living together and recognized as man and wife without the performance of a marriage ceremony in the accepted sense. Among the Birhors Roy reports ten different kinds of marriages which are recognized as valid.[2] Among the Dudh and Dhelki Kharias he lists five types of recognized marriages: (1) Regular, (2) Elopement,

1 *Census of India*, 1931, xviii, p. 189.
2 Roy, S. C., *The Birhors*, pp. 146 ff.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

583 626 migrate to a place where nothing is known of their history, for if they should try to remain they cannot enter into the life of any community of that area unless they cast their lot with the lowest of the low.

583 586 623 The above form of the elopement marriage does not have the same standing as the regular forms. If such a union should break up, and the woman go to live with another man, the first man has no right to make a formal complaint to the *panch*, nor can he claim her nor any compensation for her. The *panch* takes no responsibility for irregular unions and this fact is a real deterrent. Marriage would thus seem to have the marks of a contract; it binds the two persons and gives certain proprietory rights which are enforced by the community.

583 585 837 623 The second type of elopement marriage attempts to regularize the procedure after a couple has eloped. In this manner a control over such cases is exercised, and certain obligations must be met or there is a severe social penalty. If a boy runs off with a girl already married, who has also been through the *gauna*[1] part of the total cycle, but who has not become the actual property of her husband, he is required by the *panch* to refund to the party to whom the girl was first married all the expenses in connection with the *lagan*, the *sadi* and the *gauna*. This is a very heavy burden which few would undertake to face, for it may amount to as much as a hundred rupees. And even if he is able to pay he still has to feast the *panch*, and they see that he does it well. Following all this the regular marriage ceremony must be performed with its additional costs and obligations, before the couple are allowed to live together. This makes such an elopement a very costly affair, and the *panch* is in the position absolutely to enforce these penalties.

[594] If the *gauna* has not yet occurred and the girl elopes with another boy, all he has to do is to pay a penalty to the *panch*, but before they are allowed to live together the regular *sadi* must be performed. No *gauna* is thereafter necessary and they begin to cohabit. The regulations are thus much more severe if the *gauna* is passed than if the elopement occurred before it. There are variations in procedure, but this seems to be the custom.

114 184 583 584 2. *The Recognized Form of Marriage* (*Biwah*, *Biyah*). The description which follows is one compiled from investigations made in many places. When we first learned of the marriage customs of the Kols who lived close to Jubbulpore, we thought that the customs

1 See page 92.

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

among the Kols living out in the jungles and away from larger centres would be simpler. We were therefore surprised by how consistently various groups gave us similar information. It should be noted that it is not claimed that these customs are peculiar to the Kols. Investigation among the simple village people of Hindu background will probably show that all over this area there is a great similarity in the marriage customs, the details may vary, but not the main outlines.

(1) *Selection of the Girl.* When a father considers it time to arrange a marriage for his son it is he who should take the initiative. The first thing he should do is to make some private preliminary enquiries. It is against the custom for the parents of the girl to make any direct advances. In this type of marriage neither the boy nor the girl has anything to say concerning his or her future mate. It is entirely in the hands of the elders. The boy's father may ask some relatives in another village to be on the lookout for a suitable girl, and he will consult the *panch* of his own village to see if any one of them knows of a girl who would make a suitable match for his son. As a result two or three names are suggested as possibilities. The next thing that is ordinarily done is to try to catch a glimpse of the girl without her parents knowing about it. It is best if this can be done by the boy's father, but he may send some trusted member of the *panch* to carry out the investigations for him. If the results are satisfactory, the boy's father reports to his *panch* and asks them if there is any objection to such a marriage. This is done to guard against a marriage which would be objectionable from any angle. The *panch* is usually pretty well posted on matters of relationship, and its opinion, in the absence of written records (for such are never kept by Kols), is authoritative. The father of the boy then arranges to see the girl's father privately, and when he goes he usually takes three or four of his friends from his village with him. In the interview that follows he does not come to the point immediately, but may talk about general matters for some time before bringing up the main question. Mutual enquiries are made concerning the status of the two families, the health of the children, etc. The friends of the father vouch for the accuracy and truth of his statements. If both parties find themselves in accord and if the girl's father is willing to give his daughter, the matter is then with the girl's father and it is he who now consults his *panch* and makes any private enquiries that he sees fit. Up till this time the matter is considered as strictly private and if either of the parties is not satisfied with any of the details and does not wish to follow it up the matter may be dropped without prejudice.

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Usually the girl's party pays the costs of all the ceremonies in her village, while the boy's party pays at his village. Possibly, though we were never actually able to determine the proportion, the costs in the end are about the same for both parties. The boy's father has to pay out more in actual cash, but has to bear a lesser expense in the home in connection with the preparations. In reply to our enquiries, we were given various estimates, but probably no one knows exactly just what the costs are. Sometimes there may have been an exaggeration, but in the light of their economic level the costs are staggering. The cost of a regular marriage is hardly ever less than thirty rupees per family and it ranges from this anywhere up to one hundred rupees per family. In the latter case the people must have originally greater resources and feel that they must do things more lavishly. As the Kol almost never has any money saved or in hand, most money for such expenses must be borrowed; and with the economic level as it is the repayment of such loans is practically impossible. The debtor becomes a virtual slave to the *malguzar* from whom he borrows the money.

The marriages described above bear many marks of, and resemblances to, Hindu marriages. It is believed that in the main the above is a fairly consistent account of the Kol types of alliances. Enquiry from other places show certain variations in practice and order. There are still many details to be filled in, and there are many variant practices yet to be noted and compiled. The process is a complicated one, and without doubt there is considerable variation between village and village in the matter of details.

POLYGYNY. [If the husband can afford the added expense it is not uncommon for him to have two wives.] In a case where there are two wives, it is usually discovered that the second "wife" has not been married with all the ceremonies as was the first, and that in reality she is just "kept." This arrangement however is considered legal and binding and a feast to the local group usually atones for the irregularity of the procedure. In our survey of Barela we found that there were three households in which more than one wife was found. In one of these instances a quarrel was then in progress between the wives and twice within the period of two weeks the aggrieved wife had run away and the man had to go out and search for her. In Panagar one Kol was found to have five wives, one of whom boasted to us that it was a sign of strength on the part of the husband. But a man standing by slyly remarked: "But look at their clothes and their condition." Kols expect their wives to work and so they are often looked upon as

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

595 an economic asset. If there should be two or more women in the family, one of whom is married and the other just kept, their respective rights were said to depend solely upon the will of the husband and it was not admitted that any of them had greater rights than the others. Their children have equal rights and no discrimination is made between [428] them. If the wife is barren and the other has sons, the property upon his death reverts to the sons. If both "wives" have sons it is divided at death according to the husband's expressed wish or by a decision of the *panchayat*.

[834] We did not find much sexual laxity among the Kols; but the Hindus assert, whether from knowledge or prejudice it is hard to say, that the sexual relations of the Kols are very loose. A Malguzar reported that in some villages under his jurisdiction where Kols happened to be in the majority he knew of at least one case of a Kol woman having several [837] husbands, a sort of polyandry, and that the men frequently exchanged wives.

586 DIVORCE. It is not uncommon for a man and his wife to separate but as long as this separation is not sanctioned by the *panchayat* 623 it involves certain disabilities. The *panchayat* never takes the initia- 692 tive nor does it advise or suggest divorce—rather the opposite—but it has to act if the separation is to have official sanction. The usual grounds for separation and divorce are:

1. Sterility of the wife
2. Sexual unchastity of either
3. Quarrelsomeness in the home
4. Laziness resulting in the neglect of household duties and support of the family
5. Any tendencies such as thievery, frequent absences from home without apparent reasons, and the like

There are numerous variations in the process of securing this separation. It is usually considered more difficult for a man to get rid of his wife than it is for the wife to get rid of her husband. The matter is first officially brought to the attention of the local *panchayat* by either of the aggrieved parties. In some cases the local *panch* has full authority, but in Maihar State we found that if, after investigation, the local *panch* thought there was a good case for divorce, the matter [184 is referred to an intercaste *panchayat*; one which should include 564] members from seven different groups or castes. This seems to be an exception, and when asked what castes could act together they mentioned only three: Kol, Kurmi and Chamar.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Chapter VI

THE SOCIAL UNIT: THE FAMILY

The Kol Family. The basis of Kol society is found in the family. This family is patrilinear and patrilocal, with a recognition of the bilateral kinship group because important social relations are observed with the kin on both sides. Nevertheless the household usually contains only dependent members from the father's side, but there are no taboos for the other side of the family and visiting is allowed back and forth freely and without hindrance. No trace was found of a rupture in the parent-in-law relationship and no restrictions either in talking or associating were traced. In all, however, the family stands out as a distinct unit separate from the wider life of the community.

In a typical Kol family under the one roof will usually be found the husband, the wife (or wives), unmarried children, and occasionally some dependent member or members of the father's family, such as a widowed grandparent. Soon after marriage the Kol son usually sets up a home for himself. In the more primitive sections it is unusual to find a married son and his wife living with his parents. In the more Hinduized communities, where the Kols are better off and can afford more elaborate houses, married sons and their wives were frequently found living with the boy's parents. In one such home in Barela, for example, there were two married sons and their wives living with the boys' parents. This seems though to be an imitation of the Hindu family system, rather than a true Kol institution. The older dependents are found in the house only if their own homes are broken up by death. One occasionally finds an old couple living together in a little hut, and when one or the other dies the surviving member goes to live in a son's or another relative's house. In one centre, however, four such persons were found, each living alone in a little hut. They were either not wanted or had no relatives with whom they could reside.

In Barela and Kharara Ghat a survey was made of the number of people in each home or sheltered under one roof. The average number of people per house, excluding four houses where there was one each who was somehow *persona non grata* with relatives, was 3.9. In Kharara Ghat the average came to 4.8 persons per house. The 1931 Central Provinces Census Report reveals that primitive tribes average 3.8 children per family. The distribution of people was as follows:

[p. 101]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

764 nor measure it to see whether a spirit has gotten within and caused the body to swell. Other groups, such as the Chamars,[1] are said to do this. In Rewa it was reported that they should not wait till daylight, but should make immediate arrangements even though the work has [184] to be done at night. They said that if a man died about 9 p.m., they would have the corpse buried by 3 a.m. This, though, seems to be the exception and not the rule; other groups have denied this, saying that no burial ever occurs at night.

[443] TRANSPORTATION OF THE CORPSE. The body is transported to the burial or cremation grounds on the *tatari* as noted above. The corpse is always carried by men. Among the Oraons it is said that the custom once was that the women always carried the corpse.[2] Four men at a time act as pall bearers. The men are frequently changed so that as many as possible may assist. Even a man's [578] "enemies" should come and help and if such a person does there will be no further enmity between him and the rest of the family. This will also appease the spirit of the deceased. The body is usually carried so that the feet go first. There is a division of opinion on this matter though, as some Kols claim that the head should always be kept in the [823] direction of the Ganges; hence in cases where the graveyard happens to be in the north of the village the head is carried forward. That the feet go first is generally true in other groups, in order, it is said, [775] that the spirit of the deceased may not find its way back. But the Kol has no objection to the spirit's return, and in fact expects it back; actually food is put out near the house for it. If the body is set down for a time the head should point north and the feet south.

On the way to the *masan* or *marghat* (burial place) or the *ghat* or *chita* (burning place) there should be no chanting nor singing nor music of any kind. Lamentation and weeping is all that is in order. The party goes in two groups, first the men with the bier, and, following a short distance behind, the women and the children. The women bring the water for washing the body as well as the oil and turmeric for anointing. As the party proceeds it is customary to drop some mustard seeds along the way, and *ladd'u* balls made with sweetened *lai* (puffed [787] rice) are also dropped at intervals. On the way back they try to see [775] if these have been picked up, and form an opinion as to whether the [776] omens are good or bad. Some say that if the spirit of the deceased returns he will pick them up. The *rai* seeds will keep the evil spirits

1 Briggs, G. W., *The Chamars*, pp. 100—101.
2 Roy, S. C., *Oraon Religion and Customs*, p. 178.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

768 765 [302] by a Kol. Often all male members of the family are shaved in this manner. Nothing is done to the female mourners to correspond with this. Unkempt hair and dirty clothes are the signs of their mourning.

765 MOURNING FOR THE DEAD (*Daswi*). This may also be considered as the period of uncleanness, although many Kols do not recognize it as such. The number of days that the dead should be mourned, and certain taboos observed, varies according to sex and age. For a man or for a married youth the period is ten days, hence "*daswi*";—for a woman or a married maiden nine days; for a child it varies according to age: five days, three days, or, if it is a very small child there is no period of mourning at all. All over the area the customs are uniform [184] in the cases of men and women, but for children there seems to be a considerable variation of custom.

765 262 During the period of mourning certain foods are taboo and certain kinds of cooking vessels must not be used in the preparation of food. Only simple food should be eaten: nothing should therefore be cooked in *ghi* or oils. No salt or flesh of any kind should be taken. The cooking vessels which are taboo are those in which rich foods are prepared and cooked in oils and *ghi*, such as a frying pan. This rules out the cooking of *puris*. The food during that period must always be [264] eaten at home, and on no account should one accept food cooked in another's house or by someone who is not a member of the family, even if it is cooked in his own house. Violators of these regulations [623] are dealt with by the *panch*. One should also stay pretty close to home, and should not freely enter others' houses, especially at the time they are eating.

765 775 FEEDING THE DEAD. The Kols have a custom of feeding the dead which they generally call *dona*, or *dauna rakhna*. The dead should be fed twice daily during the period of mourning if one can afford it, and if not, once in the evening. This is discontinued after the funeral feast. The chief mourner is generally expected to prepare this food, or it may be prepared along with the ordinary household food. Such food is placed on a *dona*, leaf-plate, and is taken out from the house to a distance of from thirty to forty yards, in the direction of the graveyard. This is placed in the crotch of a tree or it may be set down on the ground. Other things may also be placed there, things the

DONA - SIDE VIEW

Fig. 23

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

After the Basor begins the others may start and all set out to enjoy themselves. Liquor is sometimes freely consumed on such occasions.

Another feast, a family one called *barkhi* (H. *Barsi*), is given after a year, and after this the chief mourner can eat as he likes; it also marks his entry into the society once again. During the year of mourning it is sometimes his custom to eat normal foods at home, but never to go to a feast elsewhere.

MISCELLANEOUS DEATH CUSTOMS. After the return from the graveyard there is no formal visiting of the spot unless it be for the purpose of putting food upon the grave. After three or four days someone from the household may pay the graveyard an informal visit to see if everything is all right and that the grave has not been disturbed by animals. No flowers are put on the grave at any time, and the bones are never dug up and buried again at some other place. Kols also say that they never throw bodies into the streams, although we were informed by one of them that it is sometimes done. At Satna in Rewa State it was related that some times a male corpse may be taken to a river, where the head is shaven by the Hindu *nai* whom they pay two to four annas. As the body is about to be cast into the river the mourners announce that they are ready to give the river a gift, naming a certain sum of money, which they will pay to the Brahmin presiding over that part of the river. The usual amount is Rs. 1-4. This is called *gaunda*—alms. As the body floats away they shout "Go and get salvation" and also the words, "we've been so long together, but from now on we are separated, you from us and we from you, and we shall now have nothing more to do with each other." After this they return to the house and bathe and prepare things as previously related.

There are adjustments necessary within the family after the death of the father or the mother. If the wife has died, all her clothes must be given away to the Domar or Basor. A second wife should never wear the clothes of a deceased woman. However, she may wear the metallic jewellery and ornaments of the first wife, and they are usually given to her.

If the father should die his clothes should also be given away. The widow has to break her glass bangles and this is usually done at the place and the time of the funeral. They may be broken by a member of the family, or a Hindu *nai* may be called. The widow is not required to put away her metallic ornaments.

There is no trace of *sati* or widow burning among the Kols. We found none who had ever heard of a Kolin doing it. One man said: "We

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

764
762 cannot get such faithful wives—they prefer to run away," and there
522 was a hearty laugh.

766 In some parts of India the bodies of young children are sometimes buried under the floor of the house in which they lived but this custom does not prevail among the Kols. Children are buried in the regular *masan*, and not in a special place by themselves. If both mother and child die at the time of childbirth they are buried together in one grave. If they die on different days so that they cannot be buried together they are given separate burials.

Those dying abnormal deaths, by suicide, accident, or childbirth, are not treated differently from those dying in other ways. Kols are unlike most Hindus in this respect.

764 Sometimes grass plays a part in the funeral ceremonies, and in
765 Rewa State we found that Kols used *urai* grass (*Vetiveria zizanioides*)
824 at such a time. It was stated that at the time of bathing after the return
184 from the funeral ground a bunch of *urai* grass should be held in the right hand and that it too should be bathed. At least the chief mourner should do this. During the following days and until the time of the funeral feast this same bunch of grass should be carefully washed every day. On the day of the funeral feast it is thrown into the tank or river.

764 An interesting explanation of the use of small plugs if gold put into
423 holes bored in the front teeth came from the Rewa State. It was said
301 that when one died and the body was cremated the teeth would not be
184 consumed by the fire and the gold would still be in them Or even if the gold had melted out it would be in the ashes, and would be gathered with them and taken to the river. The throwing of gold into a
[782 river, particularly the Ganges, is a gift to the gods and pleases them
775] and the spirit gets *aram*—rest—in the after life in *baikuntha*—the abode of *Vishnu*.

764 Tattoo marks are said to have a certain significance at the time
304 of death. This applies to women as the men are not tattooed. If a
789 woman has tattoo marks on her forearm, and also on her upper arm, the arms are so folded when she is placed in the grave that the two tattooed places touch each other. This is said to somehow afford protection, please the gods and help the spirit on its way.[1] See also pages 29 and 30.

764 The chief mourner should also keep a piece of iron about his person
423 during the days of mourning, and possibly ever after. Sometimes, just before burial, this piece which is to act as a charm, is touched to the

1 See Crooke, *Op. Cit.*, p. 296.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

brow of the deceased seven times as the mourner encircles the body. It is then put into the clothes and carried about.

If a woman is carrying a *ghara* of water and sees a dead body she should at once throw out the water and return to get a fresh supply.

KOL CONCEPTION OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH. It was noted that it is not a general belief among the Kols that the spirits of the dead return to trouble the family. The belief that the spirit of a pregnant woman becomes a *churel* is well known but even this is not consistently held. Further comments on this aspect will be found in a later section.[1]

Generally speaking, the Kols believe that the spirits of the good dead go to a place called *baikuntha* which in a general sense corresponds to a place of happiness, or paradise. The wicked may sometimes return as evil spirits—a male as a *bhut* and a female as a *churel*; but one must be rather wicked to be so severely punished. Others say that the spirits of the bad go to *narkunda*, the Hindu hell, a sort of well or pit in the lower regions.

The Kols know the doctrine of *samsara* or transmigration of souls, but they seem to have neither a clear idea of its details nor of its implications. While this belief is usually admitted when they are questioned and reflected in some of their practices, nevertheless the general conception seems to play but a minor part in their thinking of the present and the future. "From now on we have nothing to do with one another."

1 See Chapter IX: Churel.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

776 Jalni
Joginimai
Jogni
Kalimai.
Kalka.
Karmasin.
Khermai.
Lorhadhar.
Mahamai.
Marhai.
Marhimai.
Paramjiyoti.
Phonamukhi.
Phulmatimai.
Raktpiyasi.
Shardamai.
Shivari.
Sitalamai.

Phul.
Sannyasi deo.

FEMALE DEITIES WORSHIPPED BY KOLS

Alop. This deity is not widely worshipped. She is able to disappear very suddenly and reappear just as suddenly elsewhere.

[184] *Asmani devi.* "The heavenly one." This *devi* is the one who generally protects individual houses. She is particularly popular around Jubbulpore, but further north is not so often mentioned. Her shrine is found in connection with the house, and a white flag, or a white segment on a red flag, usually indicates her presence. Her favourite offering is a young female pig. She is usually worshipped just outside the house, although she may also be found within. The accompanying diagram shows a typical shrine to Asmani devi. She is frequently called Asmanimai.

[178 782]

Athabhuji. This is the goddess of eight hands. Kols are not clear about her, but probably this is a term for the wife of Siva, called Uma, Parvati, Durga, Kali and Bhavani.

Bairam. This deity is generally female, but sometimes is considered a male deity. She is usually kept outside the house, and seldom, if ever, within it. The Kols say that her chief work is to frighten away evil spirits—*bhuts.* As long as she is near the doorway, such will not dare to enter. The name may be related to the hero Bhairon, or may be a confusion with Barambaba.

Bhagavati. Really means "one who is a devotee"—a *bhagat.*

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776 *Buri devi.* "Bad Goddess." Sometimes this is made a male and called Bura Deo. It is probable that this is connected with the 782 chief Gond deity, Buradeo. This deity is not widely worshipped among the Kols, but should a sacrifice be necessary she prefers a female kid of reddish colour.

Chandika. This deity is said to have one body and two mouths, one in the front and the other in the back, and is a form of Kali.

Chithra devi. Goddess of torn clothes. This deity is worshipped in connection with the new moon, when a piece of torn cloth should be offered her, good clothes held up, or some cloth tied to a Tamarind tree. In this manner she helps one to get new clothes.[1]

[241 *Dhartimai.* The goddess of the earth. Worship and ceremonies in connection with this deity are observed at the time of ploughing 184] and threshing, but only by the agricultural Kols. A *hom* offering is all that is usually given her. Probably she is related more closely to the Hindu pantheon than are those requiring a bloody offering.

[773] *Jalni.* Some Kols claim that Jalni is the Creator of the universe. This may refer to Jalpati, the Hindu deity presiding over water. The Kols have the legend that before there was an earth all was water. Jalni, however, is not much worshipped by Kols.

[778] *Jogni devi.* Frequently called Jognimai, is a goddess who particularly cares for children. The picture shows a shrine outside the home.[2] The pole above has black bangles and drops of *ghi* may be observed at the base. When children are ill, or in danger, or affected by the power of evil spirits, Jognimai should be propitiated. [751] At the time of a smallpox epidemic, one of the parents offers her a cocoanut and pours water over her shrine, in order that she may not allow the smallpox to attack the children.

[496] A Kol who worked on the railway claimed that it was Jognimai that caused the locomotives to run. He would often make an offering to her just before the locomotive started.

Kalimai. Kalimai is very popular among all the lower classes, and the Kols have also accepted her. While they do not give her the chief place, which is usually given to Shardamai, yet she is said to be one of the six sisters of Shardamai. It is not customary for Kols to [778] have a shrine to her alone. When she is worshipped, it is at the village shrine along with the other deities such as Khermai, more generally [822] worshipped by Kols of the village. Her colour is black, and black in a flag over a shrine indicates that she may be worshipped there. She should be offered darkish-coloured cocoanuts, or if animal sacrifices

1 See page 131.
2 See plate xx.i.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

worship. No image is found, but there are exceptions. In Rewa State it was said that she should be worshipped at least twice a year: two days before the *Dasara* festival (September-October) and eight days after Chaita (March-April).

While animal sacrifices are forbidden at the Maihar temple, they may still be offered at the village shrine.[1] One group said that a black kid was the only acceptable offering, while from others it was learned that chickens, lambs and suckling pigs may all be sacrificed. The usual vegetable offerings are likewise acceptable. She frequently possesses people and speaks through them.

Childless women, especially, should worship her and make offerings and sacrifices, so that she may speak to them through the *panda* and tell them what to do before they can expect children. Shardamai is therefore reverenced at this place by childless women. It is also claimed that she can restore sight and cause the blind to walk and is a general miracle worker.

During *Chaita*, the Hindu month corresponding to parts of March and April of the Christian calendar, there should be an evening fast to Shardamai covering nine days. Regular food may be taken only in the morning, and the evening meal should be limited to water, milk and water-nuts called *singhara* the Water-caltrop (*Trapa bispinosa* or *natans*). On the ninth day the big offering to Shardamai must be made. Before anyone may partake of the meal on the ninth evening, a cocoanut[2] must first be broken before the village shrine and offered to her, and then the edible part distributed to those present. Thereafter regular meals may be taken. If possible someone from the village, or better yet several from the chief families should go to Maihar to worship. Their worship at Shardamai's temple and the worship at home will reinforce the bond of friendship which they must maintain.

Shivari or Sheori. Shivari is called the mother of all Kols and served Rama during his exile and search for Sita and has thus become deified. Shivari is nearly always listed by Kols, nevertheless actual worship of her is rare; but Kols talk of her temple somewhere in Rewa and also at Sheori-Narayan near Raipur, eastern Central Provinces. Stories concerning her are found in connection with the study of the origin of the Kols and in the chapter on legends.[3] She probably represents a tribal goddess.

Sitalamai. This name is a euphemistic title meaning the cool,

1 Kali worship is associated with animal sacrifice and Shardamai is probably equivalent to Durga in Hinduism.

2 Probably a relic of human sacrifice.

3 See pp. 8-10; also Chapter X.

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He is given offerings of foods and vegetables and the *hom* offering is always acceptable. Because he is in the form of an animal, he should never be given an animal sacrifice. Among Hindus, Hanuman is also worshipped by the Vaishnavite sect which does not offer animal sacrifices. According to some Kols, Tuesday is the best day to offer Mahabir his sacrifices and these are offered only by men. The cocoanuts and foods offered and placed before him are, after prayer, taken up and distributed among the worshippers present. Some said that Mahabir is displeased if anyone should be worshipped before him. He has supreme control over all *devis* and *deotas*, and they have no power over him nor can they touch him. Therefore they worship him first. It was only one group that made this surprising claim.

Mansa deo. Mansa *deo* is also a household god, but is usually worshipped outside the house. A small platform of mud is raised by the wall just in front of the house, and on the wall some daubs (usually four) of *sendur* are put, and two small red flags are set up. Some ashes will often be found there and bangles, beads, and the like. If Mansa *deo* is not kept contented by the usual offerings of food and cocoanuts, he may attack the family. When he is happy, he wards off evil spirits.

Nanga baba. This word means "Naked Father," and the Barela Kols believe that he lives in the hills just above that town. He is greatly respected for his purity and plainness of life. His main task is that of stone sculpturing. Many of the oddities of geology about Barela are ascribed to him and his work, and some of the stones which he is said to have cut up, smoothed and flattened are used today for the building of bridges. Nanga *baba* fashioned them, they believe.

Sannyasi deo. This god is usually found associated with the village shrine. Probably he is the spirit of an ascetic of some kind, now elevated to the place of a *deota*. He is offered cocoanuts and tobacco, and protects people. The offering of tobacco probably confirms the conjecture that he was once a wandering *sadhu*. At the time of the *bawa* if he should enter and possess a devotee, the person possessed will reveal the presence of Sannyasi by taking up the iron tongs kept at the shrine and beating and pinching himself with them. To do this is a sure sign that Sannyasi *deo* has come and is truly present.

All of these deities are known to the masses of the people in Central India, and are propitiated from two points of view. This has been aptly described as "spirit scaring" and "spirit squaring."[1] If

1 Enthoven, R. E., *Folklore of Bombay*, p. 14.

2. i.e., Mahabir or Hanuman.]

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Only once did we find a Kol shrine with a roof. Usually shrines are just raised platforms of earth about the base of a tree, preferably a *nim* tree. The older and larger the tree the better.

Concomitants of Worship. The following items are usually found as component parts of the central village shrines.

1. *Flags* (*Jhanda*). Flags are an essential part of the village shrine. They are usually set up on bamboo poles which are in turn bound to the trunk of the *nim* tree. It is also not infrequent that these are placed high above in the tops of the tree where the flag waves over all. The flag makes it known, they say, that the deity is present, and the colours and colour combinations usually indicate which deities are likely to be found there. The flags also serve as an attraction to the godlings who may come and perch upon them. They also frighten away evil spirits. The bamboo pole is usually about fifteen feet long and may have from one to seven flags attached to it. The village pays for the purchase of these flags unless there is someone who wishes to gain merit by giving them to the shrine. The Kol *panda* who is in charge of the shrine and its properties, puts the flags on the pole and sets it in place. The flags themselves are from 18 to 24 inches in length and about six inches wide at the widest part.

In addition to these larger flags on the bamboo pole, there are always found smaller flags at the base of the tree or at the spot where the blood of the sacrifice is sprinkled. They are quite small and are brought by individuals or families who place them in position when the offering is made. These flags are usually red. When one seeks a boon from the goddess and makes a promise to give a sacrifice if the boon is granted, he should set up a red flag as a witness to his promise. A flag is set up by those going on a journey as a witness to the fact that they will make an offering when they return safely.

In general red is the favourite colour of the *devis*. There are some colours which are characteristic of certain *devis*. Kali likes black; Asmani likes white or red; Khermai is sometimes given green, though red is more common; yellow is for Sannyasi. This set-up lacks consistency, like much among the Kols, for some deny any particular significance and say that the flags are merely decorative. While the smaller flags may be set up at any time, it is usual that the larger flags are set up only once or maybe twice a year, *Chaita* and *Kunwar*, spring and fall, being the accepted times for new flags.

2. *Iron Tridents* (*Trisul*). These are found in varying sizes and numbers. There should be at least one long one with a very sharp point, see figure 25, and there are usually more. Smaller ones

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orthodox Hindus each passage of the sun from one constellation to another is marked by some kind of ceremony. The change after the sun has reached its most northern course coincides with the coming of the welcome monsoon rains, which turn the dry and dusty lands into a paradise of green. Russell and Hiralal also note that the Kurmis, an agricultural caste in the Central Provinces, keep this festival in the month of *Srawan* (July-August).[1]

Hariyari. This has been named to us by Kols and is probably very similar to, if not identical with, the *Hareli* festival. Crooke has a few words by way of information: "Bhuiyas, Kols, and Binds of the United Provinces also worship during the rainy season Haryari Devi, 'Mother of Greenery', by employing their Baiga priest to sacrifice chickens and to pour a libation of wine on the field after harvest or before the sowing season."[2]

Holi. This festival is usually called *Phag* by Kols as it occurs in the month of *Phagun* (February-March). It is essentially a spring festival, largely entered into and carried on by the lower castes. It marks the coming of spring, and the sympathetic magic in the ceremony tends to promote the fertility of crops and animals.

Kols who live in or near cities and towns observe this more than those isolated in villages. In Rewa a group of Kols claimed that they would not particularly observe it, but Kols near Jubbulpore said that those who remained behind in Rewa observed it much more fully than they who had left and come away.

Preparations for the *Phag* festival were watched in a Kol village close to Jubbulpore, and our enquiries were freely answered. The first part of the festival centres around a great bonfire which is arranged much as Hindu castes construct it. This should always be built outside the village and eastwards, towards the rising sun. If one Kol village cannot get up enough enthusiasm for a good celebration, they may join with another village in their preparations, or several villages may join together. The wood for the fire may be taken by force or stolen from its owners, and the owners are not supposed to make any protest.

The place chosen for the fire is first cleared and levelled. In the centre a hole is dug, into which the pole, around which the wood is to be stacked, will be inserted. Two pice, some *haldi* and a *supari* nut are dropped into the hole. The central pole should be of *andi* wood, the castor oil stalk (*Palma christi*), and around this the wood, brush and other inflammable materials are laid. The larger the pile the more

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Tribes and Castes*, Vol. IV. p. 84.
2 Crooke, W., *Op. Cit.*, p. 265.

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796 825 Kols everywhere observe this festival. On the fourth day of *Sawan* or *Srawan* they should observe a fast which ends with a feast on the fifth day. On the morning of the fifth day Kols worship some symbol of *Nag* and put out saucers of milk near termite hills and other places where snakes have been seen or suspected. No digging or ploughing is done this day lest the snakes be disturbed or injured. [574] Sometimes the women do no grinding or cutting. In the evening there is a big feast of "*puris, sewai, bara,* milk and sugar."

796 [776] *Naodurgan.* Literally, "Nine Durgas." This refers to the *Jawara* festival noted above, and is especially connected with the one observed in the fall. Kols say it is observed in remembrance of the nine *devis.* Durga *devi* is the eldest and eight more accompany her. Hindus usually speak of this as *Naoratri* or Nine Nights.

Phag. This is the same as the *Holi* festival, which we have described.

Pusan. In Rewa it was said that this was held in the month of *Pus* (December-January). This may be a variation of the so called [574] *Khichri* festival, for at this time Kols say they worship no particular *devi*, but have a feast with some friends.

796 789 [164] *Rakhi.* "Protector." The full title of this festival is *Rakhibandhana*, "amulet tying." This ceremony is performed in the month of *Sawan* (July-August). This is probably the most unhealthful season of the year in the villages, a time when malaria is very common, and something must be done to ward off illness. A coloured cord decorated with tinsel is tied to the wrist; husbands should tie one on the wrists of the wife and the wife on the husband, sisters on the wrists of brothers and *vice versa.*

[177 773] This festival is based upon the Hindu legend from the *Bhavishyottara Purana* in which the story is told of the earth, men and gods being under the power and tyranny of the great King Bali, who, by his devotion to Siva, had gained enough merit and power to rule. Before Vishnu became incarnated as the Dwarf Vamana and subsequently conquered him, it was necessary to have some kind of protection from this demon. Vishnu gave Indrani, the wife of Indra, a coloured silken thread which was tied by her about Indra's wrists, and thus he secured protection from Bali.

796 177 *Ramnavami* is the birthday of Rama and comes on the ninth day of the month of *Chaita* (March-April). This coincides with the ninth day of the spring *Jawara* festival, and is the Hinduised term a Kol may use to describe the doings that night. See under *Jawara.*

796 789 184 *Sirwani.* This is another name for the *Rakhi* festival. *Sirwani*

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comes from the word *Sraosai*—severing of cords—and occurs in the month of *Sraosa* or *Sawan* (July-August). This is really the Brahmanical name for *Rakhi* and refers to the removal of the old sacred thread and the gift of a new one. The festival was named only by the Kols at Kotmi, on the Southern border of Rewa. 796 789 [184]

Tija. This is often given by Kols and is the more common term for the *Khajleniya* festival noted above. It refers to the women's work on the ninth day and is thus essentially a woman's festival. In some places the words are put together: *Tija-Khajleniya.*

It should be observed that but few of the features in the more popular festivals observed by Kols may be traced directly to Hindu influence of a higher kind. Even where there are parallels, the worship is of a different nature, simpler and much more animistic.

AGRICULTURAL RITES. It will have been noted that some of the Kol festivals, *Jawara*, for example, are connected with agricultural magic. A few illustrations are given concerning the activities of the agricultural Kols at the time of planting, reaping and threshing. 241

Sowing. The sowing of crops is closely associated with the fall *Jawara* festival which precedes the sowing of the winter wheat, harvested in March and April. The second phase of *Jawara* comes in the spring at the close of the harvest. It was noted that the *Jawara* sowings at *Kunwar* give a forecast of the coming crops. The greater the number of plants the better the price, and the rootlets help one to judge the size of the crop.

At the actual time of ploughing the Kols have few, if any, ceremonies. A *hom* offering to *Dhartimai*—the goddess of earth, or Mother Earth—is made just before the ploughing begins. [782]

During the growing season an earthenware pot, coloured white and dotted with black marks, is set upside down on a pole in the centre of the field. This is chiefly to avert the evil eye and to protect the crops, though some call it *Khetrapal* or *Bhumiya.* Its presence insures fertility. [323 789]

Reaping. When the time to reap has come, the one who controls the harvest will take some curds with him to the field. From some heads of the still unreaped wheat or rice, a few grains are taken and mixed with the curds. The man then goes about the field scattering a bit of the curds and wheat here and there. This is said to be an act of propitiation as *Bura deo* is probably living in the field in some form or other, possibly as a snake, and some accident may result if he is not propitiated in this manner; it may be a serpent bite, or a cut from the sickle. This propitiation likewise helps to bring a good 241 782

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in room and about the door leading to it. Wood from the *bel* tree (*Aegle marmelos*) is useful if burned in the lying-in room and this is done for a period of six days after the child's birth, for this is a critical time from the point of view of evil influences. In Hindu thought *bel* is associated with the god Vishnu. The *tulasi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*) is helpful in affording a safe delivery and a bit of it is laid over the abdomen of a woman expecting a child. Mango leaves, being lucky and everlasting, are uniformly used in connection with the wedding cycle. Ginger is a devil-scarer, and turmeric (*Curcuma longa*) with its yellow colour is used continually to afford protection. The *magrohan* of the wedding booth should have turmeric put into the hole in which it is placed. The same practice is observed when the umbilical cord is buried or the foundation of a house is laid.

Tying the Village. Tying the village and loosing the *devi* is a magic rite which is common among Kols and comes at set seasons. In Barela, for example, this festival is observed in connection with Mari *devi*, the goddess of cholera. It takes two forms and the observance is reported all over the Kol community.

The cholera *devi*, Marimai, must, if possible, be kept imprisoned in her shrine for a portion of the year, particularly during the cholera season. At Barela they say that she must be tied between *Baishaka* (April-May) and *Pus* (December-January). The rest of the year, say for the period of from three to four months, she may roam as she pleases. About the middle of *Pus* a *panda* cuts the cotton cord kept in the shrine. It is this cord that is supposed to imprison her, so when it is cut, she is no longer bound by it. Other *devis* are also considered to be loose at that season. Along in the month of *Baishaka*, the deity is brought back to the shrine by offerings and sacrifices, the magic thread is tied by the same *panda* that released the *devi* previously, and she is now considered bound. This is followed by a feast near the shrine to which only the men may come.

Along with this there is a second form of tying the village and the two are occasionally combined. In this case some water, wine, milk and powdered charcoal are brought to the shrine where a sacrifice is offered and the *devi* implored to let the magic ring about the village prevent the entrance into it of cholera or smallpox. The *panda* then mixes the ingredients mentioned above and the mixture is put into a glass bottle or into a tin with a tiny hole in the bottom. The men then proceed to tie the whole or a part of the village. If the whole is tied it is called *gaonbandh*, and if part, *tolabandh*. They proceed with drumming and singing and a line of the mixture is laid down, either

1iGriffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

prepare tiles in a workshop near Deori; a Barela Kol has taken up the work of a mason and bricklayer. In another family we found that members had been jungle postal-runners for three generations. In Sihora they said that their chief occupation was digging in the fields, though they also cut wood and sold grass; only one or two rented lands. At Katni we found that they were chiefly employed in the cement works, but would soon be going elsewhere, as the cement factories were in the process of closing down. In some of the villages about Katni they were found to be mostly labourers in the surrounding fields. At Kymore thousands are employed in the great cement factories; at Maihar they are mostly engaged in lime-kiln work. Near Rewa City they seem to be mostly serfs and labourers. Further north they grind sandstone for the glass works, and at Chunar in the United Provinces help to dig the rock out of the hillsides. We found a few literate Kols in Katni who had learned to read in the Church Mission School. One of these was a clerk in a warehouse at busy times of the year; the rest of the year he would do whatever he could find which often was nothing but coolie work.

THE SITUATION IN THE VILLAGES: *Land and Income.* In our visits to numerous villages we made enquiries as to the economic situation on the part of the Kols living there. A careful survey was made near Jubbulpore. Text figure 30 shows the area. Only a few Kols in the large group at Barela actually rent lands for farming purposes; either on shares or on straight rent. In Kharara Ghat the situation seems to be the opposite, for nearly every household there holds land from the *malguzar*. Money is earned on the side from the sale of wood, grass and *tendu* leaves for *biris*. In Barela a survey of thirty-nine families indicated that only three held lands, and that the total acreage so held was but 5¼ acres. Thirty families in Kharara Ghat hold 82 acres of land; in some cases taxes for the same are paid direct to the Government, while to the *malguzar* they say they pay Rs. 10 per *khandi* of wheat sown, this being considered as 1/3 the produce of the land.

Barela Kols do most of the coolie work on the roads near that place and also labour on the farms as occasion offers. All the able members of the family work and we found that on the average the family income was Rs. ten to twelve per month for this type of labour. One dealer in charcoal said that he cleared locally in Barela about Rs. 120 per year. Another Barela Kol has the custom of purchasing wood from the Gonds who bring it down from the hills near-by. This is bought for five pice, is then cut up into shorter lengths by himself

34 [text continues on middle of p. 266]

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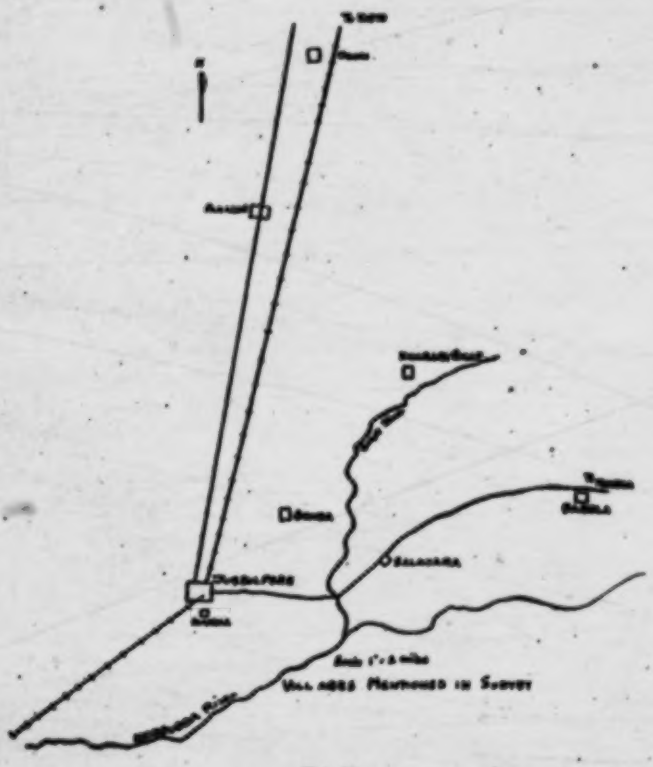

Fig. 20.

464 and family and is resold for ten pice, just double the amount he paid
434 for it. Another Kol, acquainted with brick-laying and general re-
[434] pairing, earns twelve annas per day when work is available. A few
in Bareia deal in *tendu* leaves and sell the same to contractors from
[556] Jubbulpore. There was only one Kol in Bareia whom the other Kols
considered wealthy. "Wealthy" was defined as the possession of
ornaments, animals, and some money. The rent for land about Bareia
[427] varies considerably as it is not all of equal value. Two Kols, however,
were payng at the rate of Rs. 4-10-0 per acre.

333 At Deori we found that the Kol colony was mostly employed in
464 the tile [factory where they are paid by piece work and receive
434

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

426 under village conditions. Almost every time we were in the Kol
369 sections in and close to Jubbulpore we met Pathan money-lenders
who were there to collect what they could of interest due to them. It
[178] appears that as Kols come into close contact with city life, their natural
hesitation to acquire a debt is broken down, and money is taken as a
loan which they have practically no expectation of being able
to repay.

It should also not be overlooked that in some sections there is a
426 state of perpetual debt on the part of the Kol villager. Money is not
exactly borrowed—it is rather a gift which cannot be paid back, but
which means a life-long obligation of service to the giver. This is
particularly true of conditions in Rewa State and the more backward
parts of the Central Provinces.

525 GAMBLING AND BEGGING. Some enquiries were also made
concerning gambling. The *panchayat* allows it on certain festival
[623] days such as *Dewali* when all groups gamble, and also it is allowed
occasionally in private. The gambling is not for large stakes and
most communities seem to avoid it. At present the most popular
form of gambling found mostly near cities is said to be with the use
of playing cards. Under village conditions a block of wood is taken
and on the six sides numbers are marked. These blocks are thrown
somewhat in the manner of dice. Coins are also thrown, singly and
in combination.

735 There are not many beggars among the Kols and we came across
nothing of this type although the Census Report indicated that some
were returned as "beggars, vagrants and prostitutes". When we made
our enquiries they indicated that they felt a responsibility for those of
their own group who were in need, and that they tried to care for such
during the period of their dependency.

474 We did not find that they made use of co-operative societies, although
in the case of Barela, there was one which they might have used. As
184 far as we were able to observe no active interest was taken in politics,
665 and none of the village Kols reported as ever having cast a ballot. It
is otherwise with the Kols in Jubbulpore, for the Congress party has
been very active and all who have been eligible have been recorded
under its banner.

571 From many enquiries it is clear that among themselves, apart
575 from the *panchayat*, they have no clubs nor associations of any
kind.

181 From the above survey of the economic conditions existing among
735 the Kols it will have been seen that they are among the poor and dis-

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Appendix I

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP AMONG KOLS

Some investigations were made into the kinship nomenclature of the Kols to see what index it might afford as to the structure of Kol society. Unfortunately materials sent out were not returned and so no widespread investigation was possible. Below will be found a chart prepared from the responses of two different groups of Kols. There are variations and discrepancies in the two lists, but they may form the basis of a further investigation along this line.

List of Kinship Terms

English term of Relationship.	*Responses.* I.	II.
I. Speaker's own generation:		
Brother ..	Bhâiyâ	Bhâi.
Elder brother ..	Baṛe bhâi	Bhâi.
Eldest brother ..	Jeṭhe bhâi	Bhâi.
Youngest brother ..	Saphale bhâi	Bhâi.
Father's elder brother's son ..	Bhâi	Bhâi.
Father's younger brother's son ..	Maphale bhâi	Bhâi.
Father's elder sister's son ..	Bhâi	Bhâi.
Father's younger sister's son ..	Bhâi	Bhâi.
Mother's sister's son ..	Bhâi	Bhâi.
Mother's elder sister's son ..	Bhâi	Bhâi.
Mother's younger sister's son ..	Bhâi	Bhâi.
Mother's elder brother's son ..	Bhâi	Bhâi.
Mother's younger brother's son ..	Bhâi	Bhâi.
Husband's elder sister's husband ..	Bahanoi	Nandoi.
Husband's elder brother ..	Jeṭha	Jeṭha.
Husband's younger brother ..	Dewar	Dewar.
Wife's elder sister's husband ..	Sâṛhû bhâi	Sâṛhû bhâi.
Husband's younger sister's husband ..	Sâṛhû bhâi	Loara bahanoi.
(Man's) Elder sister's husband ..	Bahanoi	Nandoi.
(Woman's) Elder sister's husband ..	Bhâi	Sâṛhû bhâi.
(Man's) Younger sister's husband ..	Bahanoi	Nandoi.
(Woman's) Younger sister's husband ..	Sâṛhû bhâi	Sâṛû bhâi.
Wife's younger brother ..	Sâr	Sâr.
Wife's elder brother ..	Sâr	Sâr.
Mother's sister's son ..	Bhâi	Bhâi.
Wife's elder sister's husband ..	Sâṛhû	Sâṛhû bhâi.
Husband ..	Mard	Adami.
Son's wife's father ..	Sasur	Samdhi.
Daughter's husband's father ..	Sasur	Samdhi.
Wife ..	Mehrâk	Lugâi.

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Husband's elder brother's wife	..	Sār	Bahin.
Eldest sister	..	Barī bahin	Bahin.
Elder sister	..	Maphali bahin	Bahin.
Youngest sister	..	Bāiyā	Bahin.
Younger sister	..	Saphali bahin	Bahin.
Mother's elder brother's daughter	..	Bahin	Bahin.
Mother's younger brother's daughter	..	Bahin	Bahin.
Mother's elder sister's daughter	..	Bahin	Bahin.
Mother's younger sister's daughter	..	Bāiyā	Bahin.
Husband's elder sister	..	Phua	Nand.
Husband's younger sister	..	Phūā	Nand.
Husband's younger brother's wife	..	Bhaujī	Dewarāṇī.
Husband's elder brother's wife	..	Bhaujī	Dewarāṇī.
Wife's elder brother's wife	..	Sarhaj	Sarhaj.
Wife's younger brother's wife	..	Sarhaj	Sarhaj.
Father's elder sister's daughter	..	Bahin	Bahin.
Father's younger sister's daughter	..	Bahin	Bahin.
Father's elder brother's daughter	..	Bahin	Bahin.
Father's younger brother's daughter	..	Bahin	Bahin.
Wife's elder sister	..	Sārī	Sārī.
Wife's younger sister	..	Sārī	Sārī.
Younger brother's wife	..	Bayāhū	Bahū.
Elder brother's wife	..	Bhaujī	Bhaujī.
Son's wife's mother	..	Sās	Samdhin.
Daughter's husband's mother	..	Samdhin	Samdhin.

II. Generation next above the speaker:

Father	..	Dādā	Dādā.
Father's elder brother	..	Kākā	Barā dādā.
Father's eldest brother	..	Bāṛā dādā	Barā dādā.
Mother's elder sister's husband	..	Mausiyā	Barā dādā.
Father's youngest brother	..	Kākā	Kākā.
Father's younger brother	..	Kākā	Kākā.
Step-father	..	Dādā	Kākā.
Mother's younger sister's husband	..	Mausiyā	Mausiyā.
Father's elder sister's husband	..	Phūphā	Phūphā.
Father's younger sister's husband	..	Phūphā	Phūphā.
Mother's elder brother	..	Māmā	Māmā.
Mother's younger brother	..	Māmā	Māmā.
Husband's father	..	Bābā	Sasur.
Wife's father	..	Sasūr	Sasur.
Mother	..	Didi	Bāu.
Stepmother	..	Māyābha Māhatirī	Kāki.
Father's elder brother's wife	..	Kāki	Barī bāu.
Father's elder sister	..	Phūā	Phūā.
Father's younger brother's wife	..	Kāki	Kāki.
Father's sister	..	Phūā	Phūā.
Father's younger sister	..	Phūā	Phūā.

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Mother's elder sister	..	Mausi	Barī bāu.
Mother's elder brother's wife	..	Main	Main.
Mother's brother's wife	..	Main	Main.
Mother's younger sister	..	Mausrī	Mausrī.
Wife's mother	..	Sās	Sās (Ammā).
Husband's mother	..	Didi	Sās (Amma).

III. Generation next below the speaker:

Son	..	Dādū	Betāwā.
Elder brother's son	..	Dādū	Betāwā.
Wife's elder sister's son	..	Dādū	Betāwā.
Husband's elder brother's son	..	Dādū	Betāwā.
Wife's younger sister's son	..	Dādū	Betāwā.
Husband's younger brother's son	..	Dādū	Betāwā.
Husband's younger sister's son	..	Dādū	Betāwā.
(Woman's) Elder brother's son	..	Bhatijā	Betāwā.
(Woman's) Younger brother's son	..	Bhatijā	Betāwā.
(Man's) Elder sister's son	..	Dādū	Betāwā.
(Man's) Younger sister's son	..	Dādū	Betāwā.
Husband's younger sister's son	..	Dādū	Larkā betāwā.
Wife's younger brother's son	..	Bhatijā	Betāwā.
(Woman's) Elder sister's son	..	Bhatijā	Betāwā.
Daughter's husband	..	Dāmād	Dāmād (Bābbu).
(Man's) Elder brother's daughter	..	Bhatijī	Bitiyā.
Husband's elder daughter's husband	..	Pāhunā dāmād	Nandoi.
(Woman's) Elder brother's daughter	..	Bhatijī	Bitiyā.
Husband's younger sister's daughter	..	Bhatijī	Bitiyā.
(Man's) Elder sister's daughter	..	Bhānjī	Bitiyā.
(Woman's) Elder sister's daughter	..	Bhatijī	Bitiyā.
Husband's Elder sister's daughter	..	Bhatijī	Bitiyā.
(Man's) Younger sister's daughter	..	Bhatijī	Bhanj
Wife's elder brother's daughter	..	Bhatijī	Bhanjī (Bitiyā).
Wife's younger brother's daughter	..	Bhatijī	Bitiyā.
(Woman's) Younger sister's daughter	..	Bhatijī	Bitiyā.
(Man's) Younger brother's daughter	..	Bhatijī	Bitiyā.
Wife's younger sister's daughter	..	Bhatijī	Bitiyā.
Son's wife	..	Bahū	Bahū.

IV. Third generation from the speaker:

Son's son	..	Nātī	Nātī.
Daughter's son	..	Nātī	Nātī.
Son's daughter's husband	..	Nātpāhunā	Nātidāmād.
Daughter's daughter's husband	..	Nātpāhunā	Nand dāmād.
Sister's son's daughter's husband	..	Nātpāhunā	Dāmād.
Sister's son's son	..	Bhānjā	Nātī.
Sister's daughter's son	..	Bhānjā	Nātī.
Son's daughter	..	Nātinā	Nātinā.
Daughter's daughter	..	Nātinā	Nātinā.

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601	Sister's son's daughter	.. Pānti	Nātina.
184	Sister's daughter's daughter	.. Nātina	Nātina.

[114] The above may be compared with the list given in the Central Provinces Census Report, 1911, page 146. This list, however, does not refer to Kols in particular, being terms in general use in the area.

Males		*Females*	
Maternal uncle	Māmā	Maternal Uncle's wife	Māmī or Main.
Paternal uncle	Kākā or Chāchā	Paternal uncle's wife	Kākī or Chāchī.
Father's sister's husband	Phūphā	Father's sister	Phūphī or Phūā.
Mother's sister's husband	Mausiā	Mother's sister	Mausī.
Father's father	Ājā	Father's mother	Ājī.
Mother's father	Nānā	Mother's mother	Nānī.
Elder brother	Dādā	Elder sister	Didi or Jiji.
Husband's elder brother	Jeṭh	Elder brother's wife	Bhavaj or Bhaujī.
Husband's younger brother	Dewār	Younger brother's wife	Bhaihau.
Elder sister's husband	Jija or Bhauwā		
Sister's husband	Bahnoī	Husband's younger brother's wife	Dewarānī.
Wife's brother	Sālā	Husband's sister	Nānād.
Husband's sister's husband	Nandoī	Wife's sister	Sālī.
Wife's sister's husband	Sāṛhū	Wife's elder sister	Jiṭh sās.
Brother's son	Bhatījā	Wife's brother's wife	Sarhaj.
Sister's son	Bhānej or Bhānjā		
Son of husband's elder brother	Jiṭhaut	Brother's daughter	Bhatijī or Banchī.
Wife's brother's son	Sarput	Wife's brother's daughter	Sarputin.